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ABSTRACT

A study was conducted to examine the relationships among communication, social class, and ethnic heritage. Eleven of thirteen ethnic groups in a Midwestern metropolitan area who had been studied in 1976 were surveyed again in late 1980 and early 1981. Groups surveyed were Irish, Greek, Czech, Italian, Lebanese, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Polish, Romanian, Slovene, and Ukrainian. From a total of 644 people, 392 were interviewed again in 1980-81, for a completion rate of 58.9%. Both surveys tested ethnic media use, metro media use, ethnic interpersonal communication, ethnic cultural patterns, and social status. Results indicated that although income was negatively associated with ethnic identification and behavior in the 1976 survey, the influence was mediated by ethnic communication when ethnic identification was the criterion variable and by identification and communication when the criterion variable was the observance of ethnic customs and holidays. Also, both mass and interpersonal communication filled mediating positions between social status and ethnic cultural behaviors; however, environmental factors may shift the relative importance each plays in the future. Changes in media delivery systems and communication technologies may also affect both ethnic identification and social status. (JL)

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Theory
&
Methodology

COMMUNICATION, 'CLASS,' AND CULTURE

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Though communication concepts often appear in discussions of "culture," seldom do we see empirical work which relates these phenomena. One of the reasons is the elusiveness of the "culture" concept itself--it's easier to talk about culture than to devise adequate operational measures. Recently, however, there have been attempts to revitalize this area (Peterson, 1979),[1] and, while cultural perspectives generally focus our attention at levels of analysis spanning countries, societies, even epochs, the growth in "ethnic awareness" offers us an opportunity to study cultural concepts at a more manageable level.

The past decade or two has seen a resurgence of ethnicity in America, among both whites and non-whites.[2] Thus, ethnic heritage represents an important area for research in its own right as well as a chance to empirically examine some aspects of what has been called "culture." Ethnic groups represent "smaller cultures" within nations,[3] and communication has been called the "cement" holding these ethnic groups together. Thus, relationships between culture and communication become questions of relationships between ethnic heritage and communication.

Communication can also serve as the avenue through which other influences operate to weaken ethnic heritage,[4] e.g., mass media and non-ethnic peer groups at school among the young. For several decades, scholars working in this area have pitted social class against ethnicity, and people

moving up the status ladder were expected to assimilate, or drop their "ethnic culture" for that of the larger host country.[5] More recently, sociologists are viewing ethnicity as a relatively fluid and variable phenomenon rather than one which disappears through an irreversible process of assimilation (Horowitz, 1977; Heisler, 1977).[6] Scholars have noted that ethnic group activities seem to be rational strategies for dealing with contemporary problems in modern societies (Heisler, 1977). In any case, we are directed to examine relationships between communication, social class, and ethnic heritage. Those are the focal relationships of this paper.

Class v. Ethnicity:

Interest in the relationship between class and ethnicity is not novel. Ever since Gordon's (1964) conceptualization of what he termed the "ethclass," there has been attention to the potential relationship. Gordon saw both class and ethnicity functioning for the individual in at least three ways: 1) as a source of particular cultural patterns; 2) as the social area of most primary and many secondary relations, and 3) as the referent of group identification. Gordon hypothesized that differences of social class would be more important and decisive than differences of ethnic group. "This means that people of the same social class tend to act alike and to have the same values even if

they have different ethnic backgrounds" (Gordon, 1964: 52). He also hypothesized that people would tend to confine their social participation in primary groups and primary relationships to their own social class segment within their ethnic group--the ethclass. Gordon felt that people would feel most comfortable in the ethclass even though they shared a sense of "historical identification" with ethnics from different social classes.

This posited relationship has been part of a general concern with the question of assimilation into the "larger social system," the host country. Consequently, much of the research has focused on how people have dropped their ethnic ties and behavior patterns, or how groups facing such pressures as television and other factors have managed to maintain their "ethnic culture" anyway. For example, Kourvetaris and Dobratz (1976:51) found support for Gordon's ethclass when their data showed higher rates of intermarriage and formation of friendship within ethnicity and class than one would get by chance. "There seemed to be a very pervasive tendency to form intimate relations within one's own ethnicity and class. This was true regardless of one's social class." Gans (1962, 1967) seems to confirm that more intensive social interaction with class rather than ethnic peers occurs as class status rises; however, class consciousness is evident only at the very pinnacle of the social hierarchy (Baltzell, 1958) and ethnic group identification continues in the middle and lower class ranks even for those who have experienced substantial upward

mobility (Marger, 1978). Bell (1975) maintains that the current reduction in class sentiment is associated with rising ethnic identification. Certainly we need to ask whether social class operates in the same manner Gordon predicted given a change in the perceived functional utility of one's ethnic heritage and the view that assimilation may not be a uni-directional, irreversible process.

Ethnic pluralism recently has become a more fashionable approach verbalized by politicians in the U.S., though Canadians have long held ethnic pluralism to be the goal in their "mosaic" society. Ethnic pluralism describes a society composed of diverse, distinct ethnic groups. One issue today is whether ethnic pluralism is possible in a highly mobile, industrial mass society[7]; Alba (1976), for example, found little vitality among Catholic nationality groups.

The origins of the "new ethnicity" have been located in several places. Stein and Hill (1977:5) find the rise of ethnic identification in recent years to be a defensive reaction to society's problems. Complex models, many employing communication concepts, have been introduced in the past few years to account for ethnicity (Dashefsky, 1975; Shibutani and Kwan, 1965; Laumann, 1973; and Goldlust and Richmond, 1974). The re-examination of ethnicity and culture is not a peculiarly American question, and most countries have at least five major ethnic groups (Murdoch, 1967).[8]

The Position of Communication in the Debate:

What is the significance of communication for the relationship between ethnic heritage and social class? This has been one of the questions directing a program of research that began six years ago and now offers us an opportunity to empirically examine some relationships through time.

Communication has an important place in Laumann's (1973) model, between social positions and actual attitudes and behaviors. He locates interpersonal communication networks[9] between individual characteristics (e.g., age, sex, social status, personality traits) and ethnic identification, as well as other political and occupational attitudes. Laumann found that ethnic origins were third to occupation and religion in accurately estimating friends' characteristics. He also found that people with homogeneously ethnic friendship networks (all ethnic friends) were more interested in ethnic matters and what happened in the mother country. Novak (1973) describes the "Saturday ethnics" who live in non-ethnic neighborhoods, but who have high ethnic identification and who maintain ties through ethnic organizations, ethnic churches and ethnic festivals and celebrations.

Mass communication also plays a part in this scenario (Gordon, 1964: 245). Shibutani and Kwan (1965: 287) note that almost every concentration of immigrants is serviced by at least one newspaper in the United States. And Fathi

(1973) argues that the language and culture of Canada's ethnic communities today are less in danger of extinction because of the advance of communication technology that greatly facilitates contact between people of similar cultures separated by distance.[10]

Thus, ethnic communication (both mass and interpersonal) holds ethnic groups together but also may act as a mediating variable for changes in ethnic behaviors and attitudes. Changes in social status are viewed as competing influences, acting directly and indirectly through changes in ethnic communication networks. The research questions are:

> Social status negatively affects strength of ethnic identification and ethnic behavior. (direct impact)
>
> Social status negatively affects ethnic identification and ethnic behavior through ethnic communication patterns. (indirect impact)

Theoretical support for the posited relationships is also found in Blau's (1977) impressive theory of social relations. Blau distinguishes between nominal categories and status (graduated parameters). He then builds a theory that defines differentiation and integration as opposites, the former providing barriers to associations and communication, the latter resting on bonds established by ingroup interaction.[11] Relationships between nominal (ethnic membership) and graduated parameters (social status) represent status differences among groups. Increasing status diversity increases the chances that two persons who differ in status will meet and have an opportunity to

establish a social relation. Thus, the intersection of nominal (ethnic membership) by graduated (social status) parameters integrates groups and strata by raising the rates of social association (communication) among them (Blau, 1977:124, theorem 12.3).

Blau's (1977) theory also shows two ways that role relations can be related to social macrostructures. One is by multiple cross-cutting group affiliations; the other is through the fusion of successively more encompassing group affiliations. Thus, we have "intersecting" and "concentric" circles. Blau's conceptualization of nominal parameters illustrates how ethnics may balance multiple identities at the same time, with no need for what outsiders see as the necessity of choosing between identities. A person may have strong ties to his Slovene heritage(circle 1), but also identify with others that make up Yugoslavian culture(circle 2), all the time finding no difficulty being a "loyal American"-(circle 3). One may also be a mason, a construction worker, a craftsman, a manual worker, a member of the labor force, etc. Thus, we can move up and down levels, depending on our needs and strategies. Individual circles promote interaction within and discourage it with those outside. However, concentric circles also connect people's narrower group affiliations directly to their affiliations with wider groups and eventually the entire society--so ethnic neighborhoods merge into cities that merge into states that become part of the larger pluralistic U.S. social system.

However, while Blau's theory implies that ingroup communication patterns will be eroded over time in pluralistic systems, the assumption is that "larger" nominal categories have more "appeal" or "meaning" to individuals and this conflicts with the recent perspective that ethnics may discard their heritage for a time only to "pick it up again" when it seems rational to do so.

The "dynamic" in Blau's theory is essentially an assumption that ethnic groups persist rather than disappear because its members want to maintain a distinctive ideology whose survival depends on the group's continued existence. Stepping back further, we could ask why some groups "want" their ideology (or philosophy, way of life, belief system, etc.) to continue while others do not.

The emerging sociological perspective of a more fluid ethnicity (Horowitz, 1977) would suggest focusing on contingent conditions in which social status operates directly and indirectly (through ethnic communication networks) to have a negative impact on the persistence of ethnic behavioral patterns and identification. One such contingency is provided by Marger (1978) in his reexamination of Gordon's ethclass. He believes that Gordon's model lacks a component which will account for the effects of assigned ethnic or class status. All status systems involve both self-identification and an external identification. One's self identity will be dependent to a great degree upon the identification which others assign to the individual, and at times social identity may overpower

or negate much of the voluntary self identification (Marger, 1978: 27). As an individual experiences assimilation, an assigned negative ethnic status may nullify the impact of other factors, e.g., in the U.S. upwardly mobile blacks are still Black first and middle class second in their social identification (Marger, 1978: 28-29).

Certainly more empirical evidence is required to specify these relationships. This paper reports on one study which attempts to chart these relationships across two points in time.

A PANEL STUDY

A variety of factors were examined by Jeffres and Hur[12] in a study of 13 different ethnic groups in a Mid-western metropolitan area in 1976. Among the measures were the following: ethnic media use, ethnic interpersonal communication networks, ethnic cultural patterns, ethnic politics, metro media use and evaluation, perceptions of ethnic images in the mass media, social status--income, education and occupational status, and others. The Communication Research Center returned to these respondents again late in 1980 and early 1981. Most of the respondents were interviewed in December, 1980, or January, 1981. Respondents were sent mail questionnaires during the 1976 survey; they were contacted by telephone in the second survey, though 43 filled out mail questionnaires because they did not have telephones or for other reasons. Of the 13 ethnic groups surveyed in 1976, names and addresses were available for 11 groups

composed of 664 people.[13] Groups surveyed were: Irish, Greek, Czech, Italian, Lebanese, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Polish, Romanian, Slovene, and Ukrainian. The total of 392 successfully interviewed again in 1980-81 represents a completion rate of 58.9%.

A basic questionnaire was designed to obtain the needed information and the general format followed in creating a questionnaire for each specific group in 1976. The same procedure was followed in creating the questionnaire and interview schedule four years later. Panel measures follow.

Ethnic Media Use--In both surveys respondents were asked how often they read their ethnic newspapers and magazines or listened to ethnic radio programs. Summary measures were constructed for attention to ethnic publications and ethnic radio programming.

Metro Media Use--Respondents both times were asked how often they read the two major metropolitan daily papers, a weekly paper and any others. They also were asked how much time they spent listening to the radio and watching TV on an average day, whether they had cable TV and what they would like to see on cable TV. Evaluations of metro media also were obtained.

Ethnic Interpersonal Communication--Respondents in both surveys were asked for information about situations in which interpersonal communication occurs. To tap interpersonal communication networks the following information was obtained: participation in ethnic organizations and percentage of friends from the same ethnic group. One question

asked was: "About what percentage of your close friends would you say are (Hungarian)? almost all, about two thirds, about half, about a third, very few, or none?" Two other variables representing ethnic integration at the primary level also tap ethnic communication--with family and neighbors. We asked whether respondents lived in an ethnic neighborhood and the percentage of neighbors from the same ethnic group, and whether the spouse was from the same ethnic group. Changes in both were tapped in the second survey.

Ethnic Cultural Patterns--We also obtained information about the observance of ethnic customs and traditions in both surveys. Respondents were asked, "Do you observe or celebrate any (Lithuanian) holidays or festivals?" In the 1976 survey ethnic identification was indexed using five items measured on five-point scales. Items used included such statements as: "I am extremely proud to be (Polish)" and "My (Hungarian) culture strongly affects my daily life." A Guttman scale was constructed using the five items (coefficient of reproducibility = .89). In the second survey, we asked the following question to tap changes in ethnic identification: "In the past four years many things have changed. I'd like you to think about your (Greek) heritage for a moment. Compared to how you felt four years ago, would you say you feel much closer to other Greeks, feel a bit closer, feel about the same, feel a bit more distant from other Greeks, or feel much more distant?"

Social Status--In the first survey we obtained income level, education level and occupation (coded using the

Census categories). In the second survey we identified changes in each status variable.

ANALYSIS

Our analysis follows a multi-stage process in which we seek to determine whether there are direct or indirect effects of two status variables (education and income) on ethnic identification and ethnic behavior.

Table 1 shows the product-moment correlations between the two status variables and ethnic variables at both points in time. Though both status variables are negatively related to the ethnic measures at time one, only the two correlations involving income are statistically significant. At time two none of the correlations are statistically significant; thus, we cannot make the assumption of perfect stationarity. It should be noted that the ethnic identification scale at time one is not replicated at time two, where we tap perceived changes in ethnic identification instead.

The cross-lagged correlations in Table 2 show that income is negatively associated with the observance of ethnic customs and holidays but not with perceived change in ethnic identification. And education again is unrelated to either ethnic measure.

Neither the correlational analysis at each point in time nor the cross-lagged correlations provide much support for the notion that the two status factors have such a strong impact on ethnic behaviors. However, the introduc-

tion of communication and other factors may be acting as "supressors" or "mediators" of the impact of the status variables.

Since age could distort the criterion relationships, we examined its correlation with both the status and ethnic measures. Age is negatively correlated with education at both points in time, but the negative correlation with income is statistically significant only for the second time. Only one of the four correlations of age with the ethnic measures is statistically significant (with the observance of ethnic holidays and customs in 1980-81, $r=.12, p < .05; N=369$). This is also the only instance in which partialling out age has an impact on the relationship between the status and ethnic variables (see Table 3).

Regression analysis also shows that neither status variable is related to the ethnic identification measures (1976 or 1980) when communication variables (mass and interpersonal), observance of ethnic customs and holidays, and age have been controlled. Thus, no relationship is being suppressed by these other factors.

The position of communication variables in the status-ascriptive debate is a second concern in the analysis. Two issues are involved. One is whether communication variables mediate between status and ethnic variables. The second issue is whether the ethnic measures predict to ethnic communication over time, or the reverse; we'll treat the second issue first since it is a component of the larger path models.

Ethnic communication correlates with the two ethnic identification and behavior measures, as Table 4 shows. However, the magnitude of the correlations at time one drops considerably when we look at the time two relationships; this is true for both ethnic mass media use and ethnic interpersonal communication network measures.

The 1976 measures were entered into cross-lagged correlations with the 1980-81 measures. As Table 5 shows, differences between cross-lagged correlations are statistically significant in two of the four instances. The Pearson--Filon test was used to compare the crosslags (See Kenny, 1975). The measure tapping ethnic customs and observance of holidays predicts to the use of ethnic mass media, and the 1976 ethnic identification scale predicts to the 1980-81 measure of ethnic interpersonal communication. However, it is questionable whether all four models meet the synchronicity and stationarity requirements for cross-lagged correlation. Furthermore, cross-lagged correlation analysis is a low-powered procedure in contrast to regression (see Kenny and Harackiewicz, 1979, and Kahle and Berman, 1979), so our analysis proceded to the examination of path models that mapped the evidence and expectations from the literature.

The criterion variables are ethnic identification and people's perceptions that it has changed. Our model begins with the two status variables, education and income, and links these through ethnic communication variables to the ethnic behavioral measure (observing customs, holidays) and ethnic identification scale. This sequence of influences is

mapped in path models No. 1 and No. 2(see Table 6). The direction of the arrow between the two communication variables (ethnic mass media and interpersonal communication) turns out to be problematic. A separate cross-lagged correlation analysis met the criteria of stationarity and synchronicity, but a test of the difference between the two correlations (.43 and .36) is not statistically significant (see Table 7)

Only the statistically-significant paths are included in the models. Looking at the first path model (1976), we find that education's impact only occurs through income. And, while income has a negative relationship with ethnic media use and involvement in ethnic interpersonal communication networks, it has no direct impact on ethnic identification or the ethnic behavioral measure tapping customs. The same relationships are replicated in the second path model (1980-81), but two of the earlier paths drop out. One is the negative link between income and ethnic interpersonal communication. The other is the positive path from ethnic media use to the observance of ethnic customs and holidays; this is consistent with the cross-lagged correlational analysis. Model 3 in Table 6 is a path model linking 1976 status and communication variables with the 1980 perception that ethnic identification had changed. As noted, the only statistically-significant beta links ethnic media use to the perception that ethnics felt more distant or closer to their group. Neither of the two status variables predict to the 1980 subjective measure of change in ethnic identification.

A second set of path models focuses on the ethnic behavioral measure (observance of holidays and customs) as the criterion variable. It retains the positions of ethnic communication and status variables, but it alters the location of ethnic identification (see Table 8). In this scenario the two status variables affect the broad measure of ethnic identification. The identification scale, tapping a more generalized set of ethnic values and beliefs, then influences the communication patterns and ethnic behaviors enacted. As Model 1 shows, education affects income, which is negatively related to the strength of ethnic identification as well as both ethnic communication measures. Ethnic media use and interpersonal communication are positively related to each other as well as the observance of ethnic customs and holidays. In Model 2, all paths linking the status variables to the ethnic identification measure and communication variables dropped out. Also, ethnic media use no longer predicts to the observance of customs and holidays. The third model cross-lags the 1976 measures of status, communication and ethnic identification with the 1980 observance of ethnic customs and holidays. Here we find that ethnic interpersonal communication predicts to the observance of ethnic customs and holidays; none of the other betas are statistically significant. Thus, in both regression models cross-lagging 1976 variables with the 1980 ethnic identification and behavior measures, it is a communication variable rather than status variables which proves to be influential. Additional evidence is provided by

responses to the open-ended question which began the interview--"How would you say your life as a (Ukrainian-American) has changed in the past four years or so?" The number of changes cited was positively related to the 1980 ethnic identification variable ($r = -.13$; p .01; N=388) but not to the 1976 status measures.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Several analytic tools were used to examine the impact of two status variables--education and income--on ethnic identification and ethnic behavior. Though income is negatively associated with ethnic identification and behavior in the 1976 sample, the influence is mediated by ethnic communication when ethnic identification is the criterion variable and by identification and communication when the criterion variable is the observance of ethnic customs and holidays. The cross-lagged correlation analysis also provides little support for the view that these status measures have the strong impact on ethnicity predicted by the literature. However, one caveat must be added; the period tapped by the panel study may represent a brief interval for the study of such enduring phenomena.[14]

Both mass and interpersonal communication variables filled mediating positions between social status and ethnic cultural behaviors; however, environmental factors may shift the relative importance each plays in the future. Ethnic neighborhoods in urban areas have declined in recent years,

with a shift to the ethnic church as the institutional setting for ethnic interpersonal communication; if religious ties are affected by rising social status, then this could act to reduce interpersonal ties among ethnics.

Changes in the media delivery system and communication technologies already are affecting ethnics. The Nationalities Broadcasting Network is now serving ethnics hooked up to cable TV in Cleveland area suburbs. The cable casting includes some locally-produced programming but is largely composed of imports from European countries. Though NBN is a fledgling operation at this point, its success should prompt communication scholars to raise questions about the impact new technologies may have on the larger culture.

Some of the early promises and fears raised by cable TV focused on audience fractionalization. Success of the newer technologies (e.g., video cassette, video disc) will raise some of the same questions, and it is in the "cultural area" that we should look for their impact. New technologies may help ethnic groups to socialize new generations, but they also introduce non-ethnics to "foreign" content. This content may not only slow down any assimilation process among ethnics but also end what has been virtually a domestic monopoly on video entertainment in this country.

The relationship between social status and the new communication technologies also could change. If the ethnic media offerings are sufficiently enticing, ethnics from middle and lower SES groups may devote the necessary

resources for the new technologies; however, in some cases the costs may prohibit some ethnics from participating in the new mass communication networks. Thus, the comunication -- social status link could reappear to negatively affect those working to maintain ethnic cultures.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Culture" is a popular if illusive object of scholarly study. Most recently, there have been attempts to resurrect interest in the concept, and Peterson (1979) identifies four emerging perspectives. The first stresses the view that culture mirrors society, and the focus is on social values and norms. Functionalists and Marxists are among those who share this perspective. The second emphasizes expressive symbols, the distinctive feature of humankind; deriving ideas from symbolic interactionalism and French structuralism, scholars using this perspective assert that expressive symbols are the code for creating and recreating society from generation to generation. The third perspective asserts the potency of symbols but focuses on how they may be used to perpetuate what is seen as a fundamental split between dominant and dominated elements of society. The last perspective directs our attention to questions of how "culture" is produced--how specialists from teachers to journalists teach, communicate and disseminate the "cultural code." Clearly, communication variables are potentially significant in each perspective, reflecting society in the first, representing the social code in the second, and supporting the "status quo" in the third. In the fourth, the media and their operations constitute the object of study.

2. See, for example, Stein and Hill (1977) and Jeffres and Hur (1980).

3. Gordon (1964) uses the term "ethnic group" to refer to a type of group contained within the national boundaries of this country and defined or set off by race, religion or national origin, or some combination of these categories. The term also is used to refer to national origin groups. As Gordon notes, all of these categories have a common social-psychological referent in that all serve to create through historical circumstances a sense of peoplehood for groups within the U.S. and this common referent is recognized in the public's usage of the terms.

4. The debate over media influence and "cultural imperialism" reflects the concern with potential impact of communication media in affecting indigenous or local cultures. For a discussion of media imperialism see Lee (1980).

5. The recent resurrgence of ethnicity in America has challenged the "melting pot" model of how immigrants blend into American society--the erosion process achieved through such influences as public education, mass media, and

occupational mobility. The question is essentially one of whether the socialization process operates to pass on the ethnic culture or to replace it with the host culture. Using the McLeod and O'Keefe (1972) description of the socialization perspective, we may view this process in terms of competing agents of socialization, e.g., ethnic media vs. general metropolitan media, ethnic schools vs. public schools, etc.

6. The emerging sociological view of ethnic groups stresses the fluidity of ethnic identities and relationships (Horowitz, 1977). The boundaries and definitions of ethnic groups do vary over time as groups absorb, merge with or merge into other groups. Also, some groups divide or subgroups reject the wider entity. The recent perspectives on ethnicity argue that assimilation of ethnics into the larger social system is not necessarily a unidirectional process. This also calls into question the relationship between ethnic heritage and what have been labeled as the prime movers in this process--social status variables such as education and income.

7. Discussing the views of an advocate of cultural pluralism, Gordon (1964: 148) questions what communication and interaction would exist between individuals of various ethnic groups composing the "ideal" cultural pluralistic society. "On the one hand, he is opposed to 'ghetto' existence and group isolation and favors creative interaction. On the other hand, he is against the dissolution of the communities. The nature of the types and varieties of interaction and communication which will obviate the former alternative and ensure the latter is a question of considerable complexity" (Gordon, 1964: 148).

8. Until recently scholars tended to associate ethnicity with premodern stages of development, and, thus, ethnic conflicts and the intensity of ethnic identification were expected to fade with modernization (Heisler, 1977). This assumption also seems to be implicit in the "melting pot" conceptualization within the U.S., and social status was identified as the chief "modernizer."

9. Laumann calls them friendship networks, but we're referring to basically the same thing.

10. Also see Kutner (1976), Sengstock (1977), Orleans (1966), and Shibutani and Kwan (1965) for comments and data on the relationship between ethnicity and communication.

11. In this scenario, consolidated nominal parameters (e.g., ethnic, religious, occupational groups overlapping) restrict intergroup mobility and promote internal stability. If parameters do not overlap, then the reverse occurs, e.g., occupational status groups would affect ethnic cultural patterns. Drawing out Blau's theory, we would expect a positive correlation between ethnic communication patterns and such nominal variables as church membership to predict to the maintenance of ethnic identity and customs.

12. Results of that survey are reported in Jeffres and Hur (1978, 1979a, 1979b, 1980a, 1980b, 1981). We selected 13 of the largest ethnic groups in metropolitan Cleveland and contacted broadly-based ethnic organizations and churches, which were asked to cooperate by providing their

membership lists. Samples of 100-250 were drawn from the lists and a mail questionnaire sent in November, 1976; respondents were later contacted by telephone to answer questions and encourage cooperation. Some 768 people returned the questionnaire, a response rate of 30%. This is reasonably good for mail surveys. Two types of ethnics likely to be under-represented because of the nature of the survey are: ethnics who do not read or write English and who would have needed assistance in completing the questionnaire, and those at the other end of the ethnicity scale, who have an extremely low ethnic identification and are more likely to decide to not participate in the survey. The sample, thus, reflects the broad middle-range of ethnics.

13. Matching names and identification numbers for Hispanics and Slovaks unfortunately were lost during the four intervening years. Number of respondents for ethnic groups included in the panel are: Greek (25), Czech (47), Irish (90), Italian (18), Lebanese (19), Hungarian (27), Lithuanian (24), Polish (32), Romanian (42), Slovene (51), and Ukrainian (16).

14. As one respondent noted: "A community doesn't change that much in four years. As a whole, the people pride themselves on their ethnic background. They are more proud today. Traditions are strong and the community has grown. There has been a loss of the language, however. Each generation makes maintaining the language more difficult."

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TABLE 1

PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATIONS BETWEEN STATUS VARIABLES AND ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION & BEHAVIOR*

	Education	Income
Time 1, 1976:		
Ethnic identification scale	-.08	-.13**
Number of ethnic customs & holidays observed	-.02	-.17***
Time 2, 1980-81:		
Perceived change in ethnic identification	-.04	-.07
Number of ethnic customs & holidays observed	-.05	.00

*The auto correlation for numbers of ethnic customs and holidays observed is .33 ($p < .001$; N=375). The correlation between the ethnic identification scale (1976) and the perceived change in ethnic identification (1980-81) is .19 ($p < .001$; N=372). The sample sizes for the correlations involving education range from 369 to 381; the sample sizes for those involving income range from 320 to 385.

*= $p < .05$; **= $p < .01$; ***= $p < .001$

TABLE 2

CROSS-LAGGED CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ETHNIC AND STATUS VARIABLES

	1980-81 Perceived change in ethnic ID.	1980-81 No. of customs & holidays
1976 Education	-.00	-.05
1976 Income	.00	-.13**

*Sample sizes for correlations involving income are 329; those for correlations involving education are 379.

*= $p < .05$; **= $p < .01$; ***= $p < .001$

TABLE 3

PARTIAL CORRELATIONS OF 1976 STATUS VARIABLES WITH ETHNIC MEASURES CONTROLLING FOR AGE*

	1976 Education	1976 Income
1976 Ethnic identification scale	-.06	-.10
1980 Perceived change in ethnic identification	-.00	.01
1976 Observance of ethnic customs & holidays	-.02	-.19***
1980 Observance of ethnic customs & holidays	-.07	-.15**

*Sample sizes for correlations with education range from 354 to 364; those with income range from 310 to 319.
**= $p < .01$; ***= $p < .001$

TABLE 4

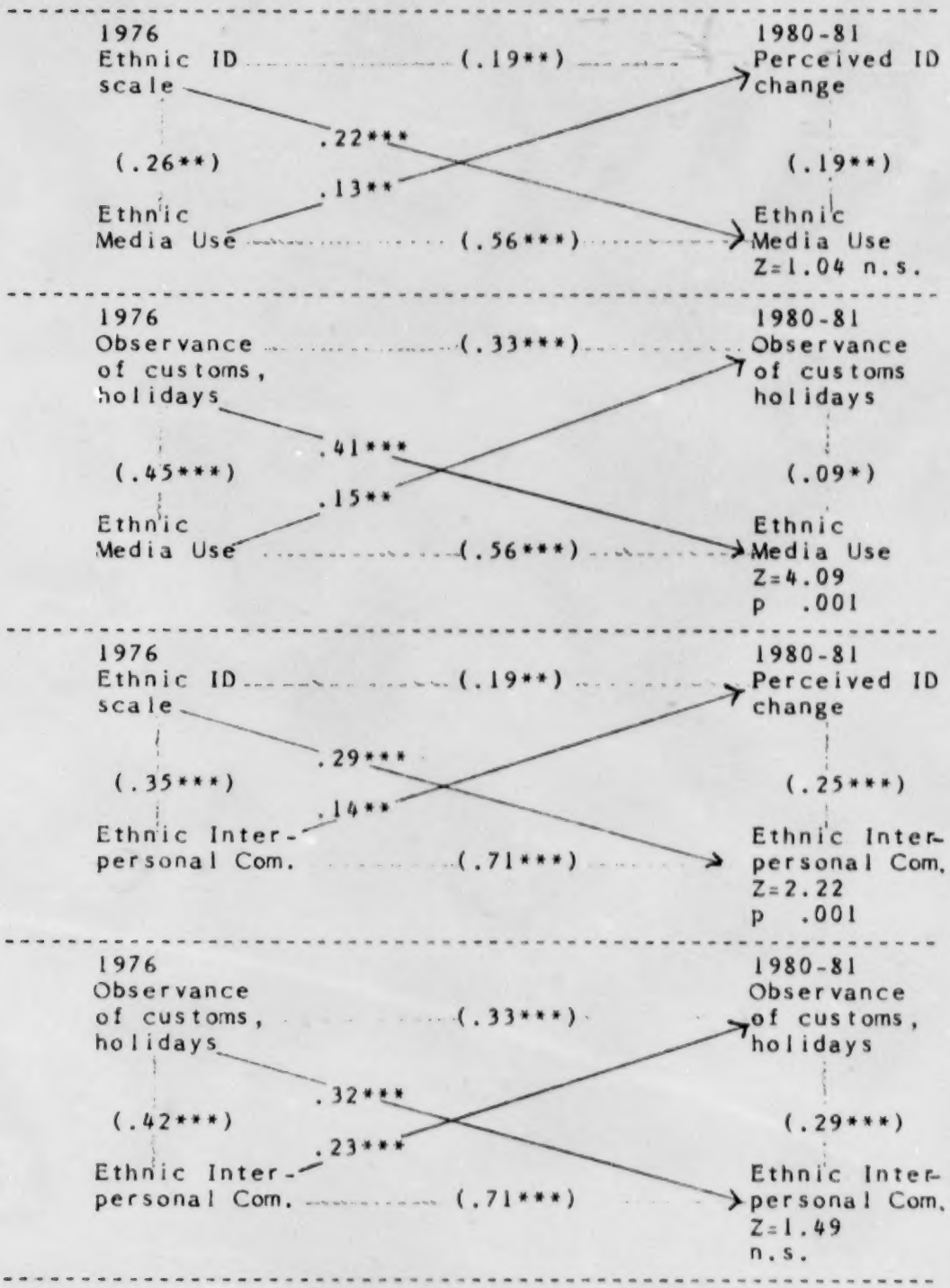
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ETHNIC COMMUNICATION AND OTHER ETHNIC MEASURES*

	Ethnic Mass Media Use	Ethnic Interpersonal Communication Network
Time 1, 1976:		
Ethnic identification scale	.26***	.35***
Observance of ethnic customs, holidays	.45***	.42***
Time 2, 1980-81:		
Perceived change in ethnic identification	.19***	.25***
Observance of ethnic customs, holidays	.09*	.29***

*Sample sizes range from 367 to 387.
*= $p < .05$; ***= $p < .001$

TABLE 5

CROSS-LAGGED CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ETHNIC COMMUNICATION AND OTHER ETHNIC BEHAVIORS*

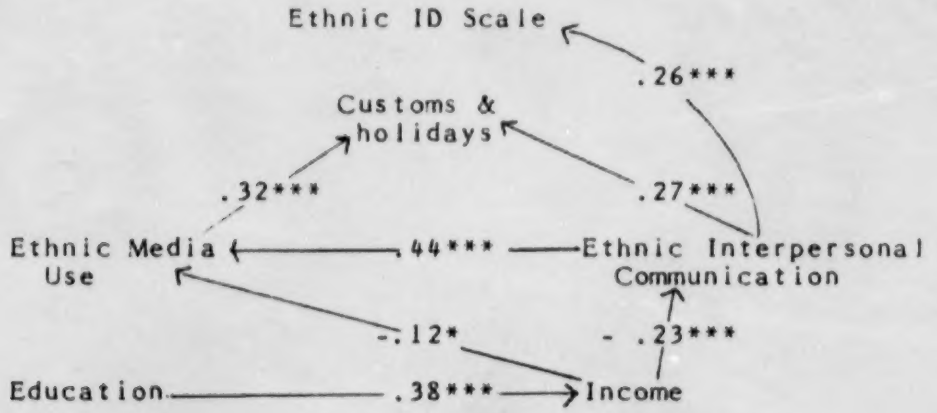


*Sample sizes are about 375.

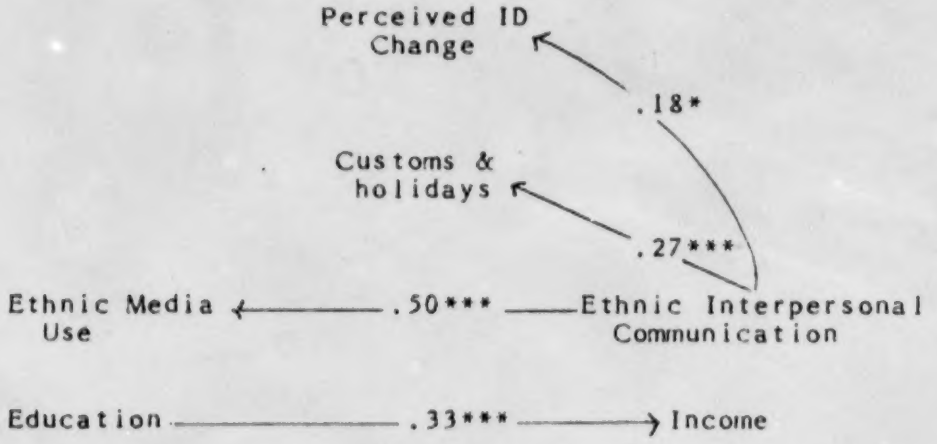
TABLE 6

PATH MODELS WITH ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION MEASURES AS CRITERION VARIABLES

Model 1: 1976 Variables[1]



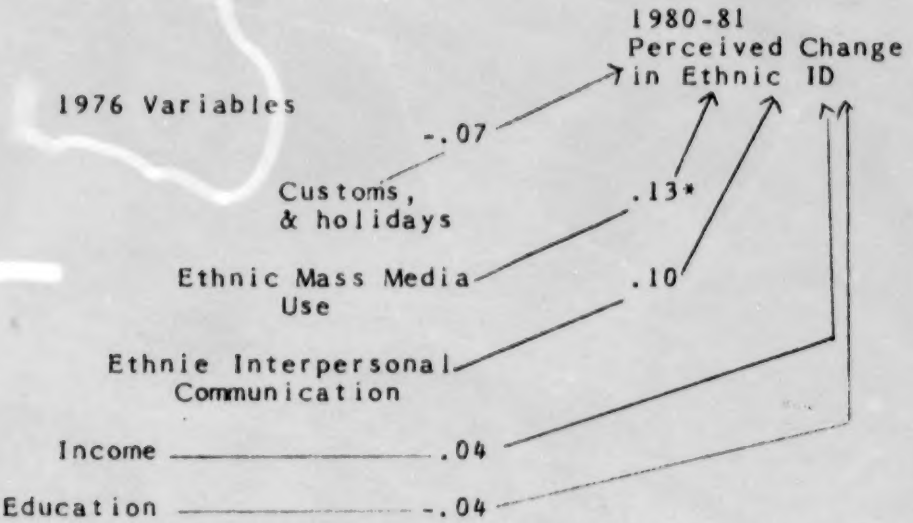
Model 2: 1980 Variables[2]



(Continued)

TABLE 6 (Cont.)

Model 3: 1976 To 1980 Paths[3]

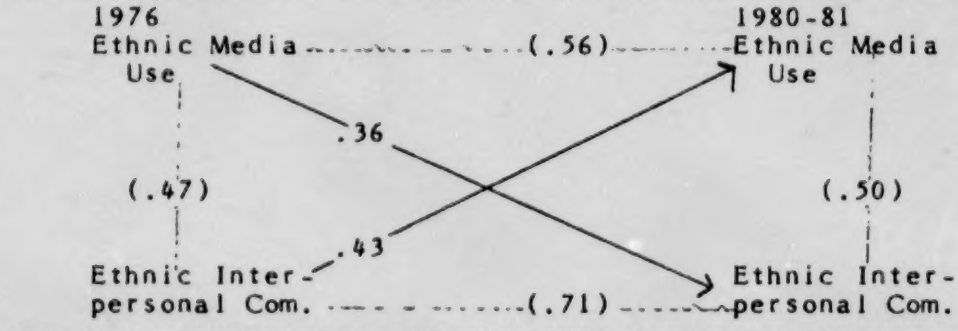


*= p<.05; **= p < .01; ***= p < .001.

1. The first model is based on a sample of 300. Only the beta weights which are statistically significant are included in the model.
2. The second model is based on a sample of 355. Only the beta weights which are statistically significant are included in the model.
3. The third model is based on a sample of 303. The 1976 variables are on the left, predicting to the 1980-81 measure of perceived change in ethnic identification. All beta weights are included in the model, but only one is statistically significant. The beta weights represent the relationship between the 1976 variable and the criterion variable once the other 1976 factors have been held constant.

TABLE 7

CROSS-LAGGED CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ETHNIC MEDIA USE AND ETHNIC INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION MEASURES*

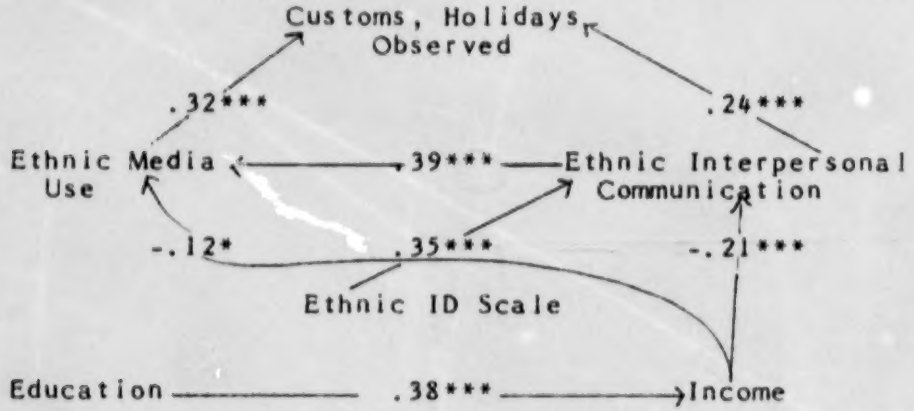


*Sample correlations are based on samples of about 375. All correlations are statistically significant at the .001 level.

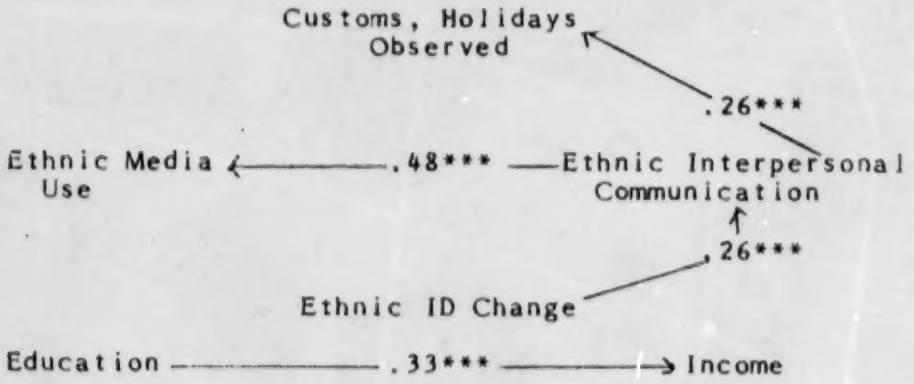
TABLE 8

PATH MODELS WITH ETHNIC BEHAVIOR AS THE CRITERION VARIABLE*

Model 1: 1976 Variables[1]



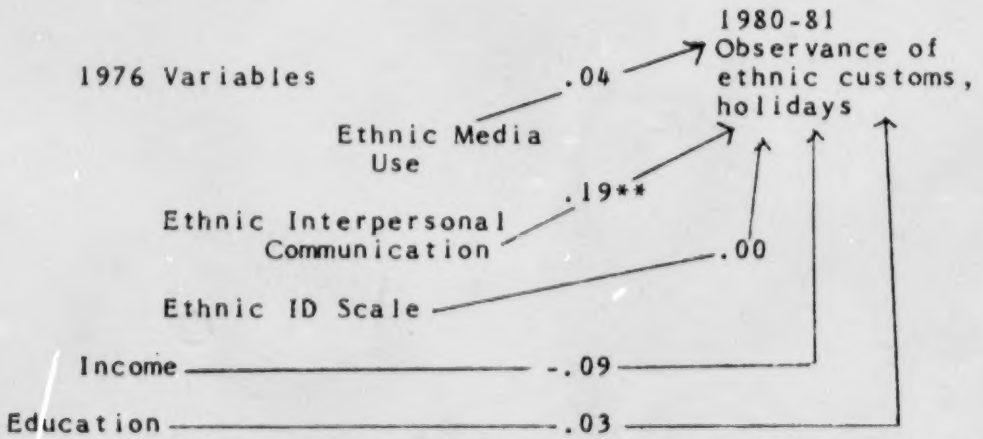
Model 2: 1980-81 Variables[2]



(Continued)

TABLE 8 (Cont.)

Model 3: 1976-1980 Paths[3]



*=p < .05; **= p < .01; ***= p < .001;

1. The first model is based on a sample of 300. Only the beta weights which are statistically significant in the path model are included.
2. The second model is based on a sample of 355. Only the beta weights which are statistically significant in the path model are included.
3. The third model is based on a sample of 305. The 1976 variables are on the left, predicting to the 1980-81 measure of the number of customs and holidays observed. All beta weights are included in the model but only one is statistically significant. The beta weights represent the relationship between the 1976 variable and the criterion variable once the other 1976 factors have been held constant.